

Message Text

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17/10

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 270709Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2281

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 4469

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

FOR AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BASE NEGOTIATIONS, SP

SUBJ: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS

RER: (A) 146909; (B) 148360

1. I HAD A LONG TALK WITH ROVIRA AFTERNOON JUNE 26. OUR MEETING WHICH HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR YESTERDAY HAD BEEN POSTPONED AS A NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING HAD BEEN CALLED FOR THAT SAME AFTERNOON. ROVIRA INDICATED THAT NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF PRIME MINISTER ARIAS HAD DEVOTED SOMEWHAT OVER THREE HOURS TO A DISCUSSION OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS, RECEIVING ROVIRA'S REPORT ON RECENT WASHINGTON ROUND, AND PREPARING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ROUND IN MADRID NEXT WEEK.

2. WITH RESPECT TO PARA 5, REF (B), ROVIRA SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A PRIVATE MEETING WITH YOU ON JUNE 30 AT 11:00 A.M. WITH REGARD TO A STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING LATER THAT MORNING, HE SAID THAT HE WISHED TO DISCUSS THIS WITH HIS DELEGATION JUNE 27 AND WOULD LET ME KNOW HIS VIEWS IMMEDIATELY THERAFTER WHICH I WILL PASS ON TO YOU. (INCIDENTALLY, THANK YOU FOR SUGGESTING THAT I BE ON THE STEERING COMMITTEE WHILE YOU ARE IN MADRID. I SHALL LOOK FORWARD TO ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS. ROVIRA MENTIONED THIS TO ME AND SAID THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES HE

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WOULD INCLUDE ALBA IN STEERING COMMITTEE MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON.)

ROVIRA THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A PLENARY SESSION ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 30, FOLLOWING MY LUNCH FOR THE TWO DELEGATIONS. ROVIRA SAID THAT HE WAS THINKING OF HAVING THIS ROUND GO THROUGH JULY 3. HE ALSO INDICATED HIS AVAILABILITY FOR ANOTHER ROUND IN WASHINGTON LATER IN JULY.

3. WITH REGARD TO PARA 15, REF (A) (ON TECHNICAL SUBJECTS AND NON-MILITARY ASPECTS), ROVIRA SAID HIS EXPERTS WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE ANNEXES ON SOFA WITH OUR EXPERTS BEGINNING ON MONDAY. I ALSO TOLD ROVIRA THAT THIS EMBASSY'S SCIENCE ATTACHE WOULD BE MEETING ON JUNE 30 WITH FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL COOPERATION TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON NMA. ROVIRA WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT.

4. I STRESSED TO ROVIRA YOUR VIEW THAT WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING WE COULD TO REACH AGREEMENT BY SEPTEMBER AND I EXPLAINED TO HIM THE CONSIDERATIONS LYING BEHIND THIS. ROVIRA SAID THIS SEEMED SENSIBLE TO HIM, ALTHOUGH HE INDICATED THAT HE HAD TOLD THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL YESTERDAY THAT IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO EXTEND THE AGREEMENT UNTIL THE END OF THIS YEAR IN THE INTEREST OF A SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. I STRESSED TO ROVIRA THAT IF WE WENT BEYOND SEPTEMBER, THERE MIGHT BE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH RESPECT TO CONGRESSIONAL ACTION. I THINK ROVIRA FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE POINT.

5. ROVIRA CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE PRINCIPAL POINT IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE TO DEFINE A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND SPAIN. HE IS VERY MUCH ATTRACTED TO THE IDEA OF AN IMPROVED CONSULTATIVE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WOULD UPGRADE THE JOINT COMMITTEE. HE FEELS THAT THE CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT IS WHAT WILL BE THE DETERMINING FACTOR WITH RESPECT TO THE GOV. DECISION-MAKERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE SAID THAT THE FINAL DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE BY FRANCO, ARIAS AND CORTINA AND THAT THE MILITARY WOULD NOT HAVE THE UPPER HAND. HE SAID HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE "SQUALID" ATTITUDE OF THOSE WHO SAW A ONE-TO-ONE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE AND THE AMOUNT OF THE FACILITIES WHICH WE WOULD HAVE. WHILE HE RECOGNIZED THAT HIS LATTER VIEW WAS HELD BY THE MILITARY AND CERTAIN MINISTERS CLOSE TO ARIAS, HE DID NOT THINK IT WOULD BE A PREVAILING ONE. IF WE COULD DEFINE A NEW RELATIONSHIP, EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD NOT

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CONTAIN A SECURITY COMMITMENT, HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD DO THE TRICK.

6. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WAS STILL THE PROBLEM OF THE LINK BETWEEN US FORCES IN SPAIN AND NATO. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT NEXT WEEK THE US DELEGATION WOULD BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN IN VERY SPECIFIC TERMS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VARIOUS US UNITS IN SPAIN AND NATO. THIS WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO RATIONALIZE THE POINT

THAT US FORCES IN SPAIN MIGHT IN WAR TIME AUTOMATICALLY FALL UNDER NATO COMMAND, THUS INVOLVING SPAIN IN A WAR, EVEN THOUGH SHE WAS NOT A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT THAT THE SPANISH MILITARY HAD BEEN TOO HASTY IN DISMISSING THE NOTION OF A COMBINED DEFENSE STAFF AND I GATHER THAT HE WILL WANT TO EXPLORE THIS FURTHER WITH YOU.

7. COMMENT: IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THERE IS A DIVERGENCE OF VIEW AMONGST THE SPANISH DELEGATION ON THE QUESTION OF FACILITIES VERSUS MILITARY EQUIPMENT. I AM NOT AT ALL PERSUADED THAT ROVIRA CAN WIN COMPLETELY ON THIS ONE SINCE THE QUESTION OF MODERNIZATION OF THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES IS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE AND ONE WHICH I KNOW TO BE REGARDED AS SIGNIFICANT BY ARIAS. THUS, EVEN THOUGH WE GIVE A NEW CONTENT TO US-SPANISH RELATIONSHIPS AS ROVIRA SUGGESTS, I THINK WE WILL STILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE "SQUALID" BUSINESS OF GUTIERREZ-MELLADO'S THERMOMETERS. UNDOUBTEDLY, CORTINA WILL CARRY GREAT WEIGHT IN THE FINAL DETERMINATION, BUT I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE SPANISH MILITARY CAN BE EASILY SET ASIDE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE ROLE THEY PLAY AND THE PROBLEMS THEY ARE HAVING IN THE SAHARA.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BASES, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID04469
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750223-0090
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750610/aaaaaikb.tel
Line Count: 137
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS RER: (A) 146909; (B) 148360
TAGS: PFOR, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006